L 2; Monteil--162 G-5 (1902-1923) 1924 FA8 Bambara FA8

791 609 821 "Can one imagine being given such orders? All that was left for them to do was to ask for the moon and the stars."

Niany is typical of many Sudanese blacksmiths, at least 791 of those who actually practice their trade, and it is no wonder 326 that the natives keep people of that caste at a safe distance and show them consideration, fear and a degree of scorn. For the Blacks, people as well as things connected with magic are inclined to take many forms.

791 224 Hunters also are magicians. One need only see a hunter start off to recognize that this is true. His person and his equipment are covered with amulets that constitute a covering as well as an arsenal of magic weapons.

825 778 The Blacks have a different idea of animals from ours; they too are powers with which one has to reckon. In proof of this, there is no animal, however tiny, which cannot be, at some time or other, very dangerous and therefore worthy of respect. So animals are addressed as "master" or "lord." The animals always to be feared are never called anything else: [552] wara-ba means lion; sa-ma, elephant; ma-li, hippopotamus; bam-ma, [148] crocodile. Etymologically, all these names indicate "master" or "lord."

These terms are not meaningless; they attest a belief that supernatural power is incorporated in animal species. The attentions paid to animals have no other purpose than that of 825 conciliating the good-will of this power or, at least, of avoiding 789 its wrath. The common practice of using animal debris (skin, [237] horns, tail, hair, offal, etc.) to make magic charms is an application of the principle of continuity of matter, of the individual and of the virtues peculiar to them. A rabbit's foot is tied to a [843] pregnant woman's side in order to hasten the child's arrival; a small bag of lion skin will make the child brave and strong.

231 552 825 It seems likely that the domestication of animals is a happy result of magic practices. These tamed creatures are held to be "weak ones" and are treated as such. However, some of their names show a trace of the esteem in which they were once held and which is still shown on occasion: fa-li meaning "donkey" derives from fa meaning "powerful," just as nya-ri meaning "cat" derives from nya and has the same meaning, along with ba meaning "goat."

231 825 meaning "goat." In the case of the goat, there remain some customs that are very suggestive. Its milk is the basis of the most solemn of all oaths, that of fraternization; milk is also used to put out fires started by lightning and the hide is used to make sandals worn by widows during the period of mourning. The chronicle tells us that a certain dish made of a goat's head gives rise to the chief's power and sustains it (1). In spite of all

1. See p. 31, in connection with Dina Wara.

this, the goat shares with the donkey a general scorn and they are considered to be the born companions of slaves. This is perhaps why some people refuse to allow either animal to come into the house. Indeed, it is believed that a rich and powerful man can be ruined if either of these animals enters his house or, even worse, if he touches them.

718 791 754 Magician's work. So it is that man is immersed in a strange fluid. In the final analysis, everything, man included, [149] is merely a manifestation of this fluid. Currents and eddies have all forms of life at their mercy, and only the strongest are able to resist, control and even acquire in the struggle greater power than they would otherwise display. "The one who knows" can avoid or follow this chaotic movement; he can control himself and others. He is the real "master" (soma) and he alone can utilize this ever present and ever powerful invisible world.

754 What makes a magician can be described by a single term: the magic weapon, to be used for defense as well as for attack, and indeed for anything else, by one who knows how to use it. Let us consider some of the examples in the Bambara arsenal.

For anyone who wants to destroy an enemy, the so ma sama (lit., "bundle of the person of the house") is a valuable weapon. It is a mysterious powder, kept in the horn of a hind, in which is placed a small stick. It is used in the following manner: let us suppose that a Bambara wishes to harm a person who is passing through the village. The Bambara secretly takes

583 occasion of funerals or religious ceremonies, he brings offerings
431 (fowl, kola nuts, millet, salt, etc.). The ceremony at which his contribution is indispensable is the da woro (1). On this

1. See p. 284 below.

occasion the furu-bolo-ma-tigi is entrusted with important gifts for the girl (clothing and jewelry) as well as for the relatives assembled (food of all kinds).

583 Just as the amount and nature of the furu-fen' vary, the manner of payment and the time set for the payment of the bride price are likewise left to the discretion of the parties. There may be a single payment or there may be installments, either before or partly before and partly after the bride is handed over. From the material point of view, the persons of the bride and groom are actually of no importance. The fa who gives the bride price wants a girl from the family with which he wishes an alliance, and all that matters is that the girl be marriageable at the date agreed upon, provided that she is handed over in accordance with the agreement. In the same connection, the person giving the bride price is not required to have the whole amount needed at the time of [200] the agreement; it is sufficient that he be in a position to pay when the amount falls due. This explains certain usages which might otherwise seem odd.

[584] It often happens that a fa arranging a marriage speaks for a very young girl or even for one not yet born. If the child is handed over before nubility, the marriage is not consummated until after the first menses. We have mentioned above that in such cases the marriage payment involves repeated gifts for years.

583 Another very curious method of paying the bride price
● 231 is to follow a custom called "the mare's foot." Its essential features are as follows.

A person giving bride price has a mare that he could sell to pay off the obligation, but he prefers to promise one or more of the foals or, as the natives say, one or more of "feet." This method of turning a brood mare to account without selling it is common among the natives of western Sudan.

583 If the payer has promised "a foot," he turns the mare
231 over to the recipient, who will have to feed it and breed it. The latter keeps the foal and returns the mare after the foal is weaned; the risk is his, unless a major catastrophe occurs, and he must prove that such was the case.

If two "feet" are called for, the mare is as it were, jointly owned, each person alternately taking care of the animal and exploiting it for an agreed period. The first foal is jointly held, and after it is weaned, the contracting parties equalize the costs by alternately caring for the mare and the foal. This continues until three foals have been born and weaned. Then the mare and one of the foals goes into one share and the other two foals in another; the share allotted to each party is determined by drawing lots.

When he has completed the payment of "feet," the payer can obtain the woman without having paid any of the bride price since her family has the mare as security.

584 It may happen that one or the other of the fiancés dies. In principle, it is well to bear in mind the material standpoint involved: persons are secondary in concluding the affair; the two fa look out for their respective interests while finding a solution to the difficulties that [201] arise during the period of betrothal, often a very long one. The dead fiancé is not uncommonly replaced by one of his brothers (1), and the girl by one of

1. More commonly by one of the sons of the fiancé's community.

her sisters (2); nothing changes in either case. If the fiancé or

2. More commonly by one of the daughters of the fiancée's community.

fiancée cannot be replaced in this way, the disposition of the furu-fen' already received by the girl's family is decided by agreement between the parties. Sometimes the proceeds are divided, with half going to each community; at other times they may be returned to the groom's family, or conversely, they may be left with the bride's family.

231 [35] However, the Bambara can assemble flocks by exchang-
439 ing their grain for animals obtained from Peul, Moor, or Touareg shepherds. It is their way of investing their savings; thus, they never dispose of their animals during their periods of increase, but let them grow old in the herds, and their capital increases effortlessly, watched over by the head of the family.

233 In the Sahel, during the rainy season, the animals live by
184 grazing on the numerous grasses and leguminous plants that grow on the mimosa-studded steppe. During the dry season, they live on the fallen branches and husks of the acacias. Then there is transhumance
[231] to the inundated regions which become pastures as the waters recede. In the Nioro region, transhumance is towards the Kaarta, the Baoulé, and the Bakoy.

In the Sudan region the animals entrusted to the Peul make short journeys to change pastures; in the rainy season, to the plateaus which are immense pastures; from November on, they return to the valleys and streams.

In the Guinean area, the village flock is entrusted to a Peul shepherd who leads it off in the morning and brings it back at night. The animals are then tethered to the stakes in their owners' courtyards or are penned in an enclosure where the women go to milk them. After the harvest the flocks graze in the fields, but, from the beginning of February, they no longer stray from the dwellings, because everything is parched. The beasts are then fed millet, peanut stalks, or foliage.

231 Neither cattle nor sheep are in the least supervised in reproduction. Coupling is unrestricted and takes place at random in the pastures and at the whim of the animals throughout the year. Birth occurs no matter where; the herdsmen know nothing of obstetrical practice. The calves are nourished with a lightly salted mash of millet stalks or with the crushed fruit of a fig named aourou which supposedly has milk-producing properties.

[232] The finest male goats often are castrated to fatten or tame them. In Kaarta and Mandé goats are raised in pens constructed on piles one or two meters from the ground, with a flooring of boughs which allows excrement to fall through. In this way, the animals are protected from the humidity and from wild beasts.

231 [556] Horses, a mark of wealth, receive scarcely more attention. The stallions, particularly those of the chief, are fettered to stakes at the hut, but the mares are left free to roam around the village and at the age of 20 months are covered by any male horse whatever. The feeding of the mare and her offspring is neglected, that of the male horse is more satisfactory.

235 Poultry is raised in all villages, in hearly every yard. They live on what they can find. In upper Ivory Coast the natives drive them onto the cultivated fields after the harvest. Often, the villagers build small roosts attached to the house walls.

[36] B. Stock Raising Areas

231 In the Sahelian zone, shrubby vegetation affords a very precious source of nutriment for camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. The 14th parallel marks the line of demarcation between the zebus to the north and the taurins to the south. This line passes through Kayes, Bafoulabé, Kolokani, south of Ségou, San, and Tougan. It corresponds to the northern limit of the tsetse fly.

Peul zebus are very well represented in the Macina region during the dry season and in the Haoussa [Hausa] region in the north and the Gourma region in the south during the rainy season. It is a good animal for butchering. Faraboué zebus, produced by the crossing of taurins with zebus, live in the zone cohabited by the two species. Finally, Moorish zebus in the Nioro, Nara, and Macina circles are not so good for butchering as the Peul zebus, but the cows are better milk producers (six to seven liters a day compared to two or three).

Woolly sheep are found at Macina, in the Macina circle, and in the Issa Ber circle. They die where more than 60 centimeters of rain falls per year. Their shepherds, the Rimaïbé, change their pastures according to the Niger floods. Finally, the delicate, well-muscled goats of the Sahel are found again in the Fouta-Djallon to the south.

The Sudan zone is less suited to stock raising. The high bush is infested with tsetse flies, ticks, and gastro-intestinal parasites. Camels disappear.

The taurins, doubtless introduced by the Berber peoples from southern Morocco, are derived from long-horned cattle. The

231 subspecies Méré or Bambara, which is found at Kaarta, Bélédougou, Mandé, and Minianka, is produced by the crossing of the N'Dama strain with the zebu. The male is a good animal for butchering; the cow is a poor milk producer.

The long-haired Moorish sheep, raised in the Néma regions, Nara, and Nioro, is poor for butchering, while the Peul sheep with greatly developed horns, originating in the Sudan, is an excellent animal for butchering. Finally, the sheep of the Fouta-Djallon, or to the south up to the 14th degree of latitude north, is more thick-set; it has short hair, but when crossed with the merino sheep furnishes a fleece of from 500 to 600 grams.

The goats raised at Kaarta and Mandé are also stockier than those of the Sahel because they do not roam.

Horses diminish in number and size. They become tame and soft. The southern horse is a Barbary horse enfeebled by the climate. It is found to the south of Kaarta, at Minianka, in the regions of San and Djenné. The Bélédougou horse is a Barbary horse transformed by the climate and by man. The center for raising it is in the Touba canton 90 kilometers to the northeast of Koulikoro.

The ass of Minianka and of the southern Sudan is small, 0.90 meters to 1 meter, but stout. It has a beige coat with a darker dorsal band and cross stripe.

Few mules are found, for if the ass is scorned, the mule is despised.

Pig raising appears, as well as the keeping of domestic fowl.

235 [37] The chicken is of an archaic type, small in size and light in weight (one kilogram). It has few muscles. A half-wild bird, it lays only about a hundred eggs a year and sits on them all. The Guinea fowl weighs about 1.2 kilograms and has a coarse flesh. The musk or Barbary duck is raised in large numbers on the banks of the Senegal and the Niger. The females are excellent layers and sitters. They weigh from 3 kilograms to 3.5 kilograms. The flesh of the young is good, that of the adults musky. Finally, the turkey is raised in all regions, but only rarely because it requires too much attention.

231 Rabbits are not raised; they are too sensitive to local diseases.

The Guinean zone permits no more than the raising of pigs and poultry. Horses are not found there.

C. Statistics

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	Sheep Goats	Bovines	Horses	Asses
Bamako	64,987	49,425	6,227	10,356
Ségou	234,645	161,965	10,454 -5,165	12,159
Bougouni	17,360	29,197	431	1,651

Estimates for the three Bambara centers.

D. Products from Livestock

253 Meat -- The principal slaughtering centers are Bamako and Kayes.

439 Some of the available bovines are exported to Senegal. This is done from the Kayes circle by way of the routes: Néma, Timbesa, Nioro, Kayes; or Néma, Nara, Yelamano, Kayes. Others are sent to Guinea to provide meat for the workers in the gold placers of the Siguiri region. Some go to the Ivory and Gold Coasts, where the animals are sent chiefly from Mopti, with participation from the circles [487] of Ségou, San, and Niafunké. Numerous caravan routes penetrate to the Ivory Coast by way of Odienné, Seguela, Korhogo, Bouaké, and Boho-Dioulasso.

[255] Preserves are made in the factories of Lyndiane.

Leather -- Leather comes either from the slaughter houses or 281 from the bush. It is of mediocre quality because of poor preparation: the skins are dried in the sun, folded in two lengthwise, hair against hair, and tied together with a wire, ten to a bundle. About 600 metric tons pass through Bamako annually.

234 Milk and milk derivatives -- The cows are poor producers; most of the milk is furnished by the Moorish, Peul, and Toronké zebus. Butter production is primitive: the sour milk is put in calabashes, cans, or goat skins and shaken until it turns to butter. At Falaladji near Kayes there is a butter and cheese factory.

236 Wool -- The wool is generally used locally for weaving; only 439 a small percentage is exported to France. A great effort has been

764 has been filled and his soul goes to Lahara. In the eyes of the Negroes,
782 this act has none of the attributes of a sacrifice; it is the price of the right to enter Lahara and is given by the children to /222/ their father's soul. Moreover, they give it to him alive, and it is slipped into the grave at the moment when the last small board, the last wood chip, or the last earthen slab making up the root is set in place (1).

1. A nest egg is slipped in instead of a hen if the deceased was a woman.

764 At the end of the ceremony the deceased's dog is killed (2),

[231]

2. If the deceased owned a dog it is always killed unless the old man decided otherwise while he was alive. There are Bambara, especially women, who raise dogs in order to have this honor, and for this reason only.

and the sons-in-law and the brothers-in-law eat to, or millet gruel.
[431] When they depart they also receive a rooster or a hen. It is given them in the name of the deceased, and since it is the gift of a dead person, they kill and eat it on the way (3). The fetishes and the genii

[782]

3. This practice, again, is no sacrifice in the eyes of the Negro.

would be displeased if such a gift should arrive in the village alive, and whoever became guilty of such a crime would become the plaything of most of the gnâma and could dig his grave.

The Bambara do not place any kind of food either on or in the grave. But for three days in the evening, at nightfall, a dish of tô (gruel) and a little fresh water is placed on the goua so that the soul of the old man may satisfy his hunger and quench his thirst.